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Prestes to trial or because the various national administrations since 1950 have felt that it would have been politically unprofitable to do so. There were a few instances during the past few years in which Prestes was reliably reported to have been in Rio de Janeiro, but all efforts to find him by Brazilian police proved fruitless.

Prestes' late wife reportedly worked for the Government of the U.S.S.R. in Berlin from 1926 to 1928, and was said to have been later deported from both France and Belgium, possibly for Communist activities. She was born in Munich in 1908 into a middle-class family. Prestes' daughter, Arilda Leocadia, was born in about 1936 in the Ravensbruck concentration camp where her mother died. Prestes is a slight, small man (5'5", weighing about 135 pounds) of gaunt appearance, and has long been believed to be tubercular. His record of activities since his reappearance, however, would seem to dispel the rumor that he may be in bad health. His major writings include a biography of the Spanish woman Communist, Dolores Ibarruri, and *Problemas Atuais da Democracia* (Present Problems of Democracy). He speaks Spanish and, at one time at least, spoke Russian.



QUADROS, Janio da Silva.

Janio Quadros, a controversial 41-year old lawyer who has had a meteoric political rise, has been Governor of the State of São Paulo since January 1955 and is one of the strongest potential candidates for the Presidency of Brazil in the election of 1960. A political newcomer whose career began in 1947 with his election to the municipal council of the city of São Paulo by a mere 1,707 votes, Quadros, who has won all four elections in which he has been a candidate, rose to the governorship of Brazil's richest, most populous, and most productive state in a scant ten years. Quadros' rise has been all the more surprising because he has accomplished it in large part without appreciable organized political support, and in the face of considerable opposition. His term expires in January 1959, and he is now a candidate for federal deputy from the State of Paraná for the elections of October 1958 on the ticket of the left-of-center Brazilian Labor Party (*Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro* - PTB), headed by President of Brazil João Goulart (see biography). In the federal Chamber of Deputies he hopes mainly to accomplish three things: keep himself in the public eye, build national support

and, it is thought, capture the PTB from Goulart, so that he will be in the strongest possible position from which to launch his presidential candidacy in 1960.

In 1947 Quadros was a poor, unknown, dishelved, sincere, and idealistic young lawyer and secondary school teacher who publicly expressed the opinion that his election to the municipal council was "a true miracle." Today he is known throughout Brazil as a crusader for the poor, an opponent of entrenched privilege and vested interests, an indefatigable worker, a brilliant orator, and a man with an almost compulsive sense of mission who, some observers claim, could just as easily turn into a great statesman and leader or a dangerous demagogue and dictator. An intelligent man who is quite able to present vital issues to the people in their own terms, Quadros' support comes mainly from the lower-middle and working classes who see in him something of the Messiah. Quadros once said that his only reason for entering politics was to show that victory "in a democratic system requires only honesty and work." However, his reasons for remaining in the political arena are a matter of much speculation. Some observers believe that he is sincerely dedicated to the idea of doing as much as possible to improve the lot of the mass of the Brazilian people. Others are convinced that his principal motivation is power for its own sake. And many of his political friends and foes, recognizing that his intelligence borders on genius, believe that he is somewhat mentally unbalanced and that some of the characteristics he shows border on megalomania. It is generally agreed that Quadros' father was mentally unbalanced.

Quadros is a man of deep and disturbing contradictions. At least two of his law school classmates frankly admit that they do not understand him; he is completely unpredictable and almost fanatically devoted to his cause, whatever it may be. The antithesis of the party man, he is a lone-wolf politician who is loyal only to a few friends of the most varied political coloration. His career is strewn with parties and individuals he has favored in the past but whom he has summarily dropped for some real or imagined cause. However, he demands full and undeviating loyalty from his friends and political cohorts, and he is totally intolerant of criticism from friend or foe. He immediately drops anyone who dares question his motives or methods of operation, and he has instituted over 180 suits against the press of São Paulo for as many alleged violations of the Brazilian press law as regards his person and his position. None of these cases have been decided in his favor, and by instituting them he has hurt himself politically, as his efforts have often been interpreted

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as unjustifiable attempts to gag the press. More than one observer has been led to characterize Quadros, despite his notable success as a vote-getter, as the worst politician ever to hold the governorship of São Paulo.

Quadros' motto, and the keystone to his political career, has been "honesty and work." He works unsparingly, demands equal efforts from his subordinates, and has few outside interests. He is generally credited with having brought honesty to the government of his state, and to have ended the legacy of graft and administrative corruption that flourished under former Governor Adhemar de Barros (see biography). In fact, Quadros' political successes have been pegged to Barros' reverses, and the two of them have been vying for political supremacy in São Paulo since 1953, when Quadros won election as mayor of the city of São Paulo against overwhelming political and financial odds and established himself as a political figure of potential national significance. In large measure Quadros won both that election and the 1954 election for Governor, in which he nosed out Barros, again against overwhelming odds, by unremittingly attacking Barros' record of dishonesty and promising to put the state's finances back on an even keel. On the other hand, Quadros himself is presently being charged with personal dishonesty by his opponents. It has been reliably reported that he has personally "shaken down" several state contractors for large sums and, while this practice is by no means unusual in Brazil, these and other alleged instances of dishonesty have led many people seriously to doubt that Quadros has unqualifiedly practiced what he preaches. Quadros has also spent large sums of public money for campaign purposes. He is variously reported to have spent from 77,000,000 to 500,000,000 cruzeiros while mayor of São Paulo on local city improvements, without legal authorization by the municipal council. The municipality sued him for this, and it is said that there is enough evidence to jail him were he not cloaked in gubernatorial immunity.

To what uses Quadros intends to put the money he is allegedly acquiring as Governor is entirely a matter of speculation, but it is thought that most of it is intended for political use. Without party backing, he must to a large degree finance his own campaigns. However, Quadros has brought São Paulo from a state of virtual bankruptcy in 1954 to its present state of sound financial health, and although his vigorous fiscal policies also lost him some support, he is still exceedingly popular and still enjoys a reputation for honesty in government. It is believed that Quadros has no interest in money for its own sake, and that if he actually is re-

ceiving it dishonestly, it is because he is convinced that it is the only way in which to continue his political career.

Quadros has unquestioned administrative ability and, in many respects, he has given his state one of its best administrations. Yet he is opportunistic, demagogic, seemingly devoid of scruples, apparently motivated by power and, to all appearances, willing to "sleep with the Devil" in order to reach his goal—the Presidency of Brazil.

In this latter context, Quadros has never hesitated to seek and use Communist support, nor is it believed that he would hesitate to use it again, nor that he would be reluctant to join forces with the extreme right, if he thought that either or both of these groups could help him maintain or improve his political position. From 1949 to at least 1953, he supported virtually every Communist and Communist-front activity in São Paulo. He is reliably reported to have had a record of pro-Communist activities in the files of the São Paulo political police, which record is said to have been removed shortly after Quadros took office as mayor. And despite the fact that as Governor he has run a relatively conservative government, he allowed representatives of Brazil's illegal Communist Party to appear on platforms with him in support of his unsuccessful candidate for mayor in the March 1957 elections. The Communists gained a measure of prestige and freedom of action in that campaign that they had not enjoyed for several years. Quadros is also reported to have worked out strike strategy with a well-known Communist leader during a crippling strike in São Paulo in October 1957, in which Quadros strategically withheld police protection from a number of factories that were seriously damaged by strikers. However, Quadros is not believed to be sympathetic toward Communism, notwithstanding early and late evidences to the contrary, and it is thought that he believes he can use and discard the Communists as he has done with other groups. He has said of Communists: "I will defend their rights; I will not tolerate their abuses."

As regards his feelings towards the United States, Quadros has on various occasions made statements friendly to this country, but he has more often than not sponsored and/or supported causes inimical to U.S. interests, particularly early in his career. It is thought that he is basically friendly towards the United States, but that 1) he would not jeopardize his career by supporting an unpopular cause sponsored by the United States, and 2) that he would conceivably deal with enemies of the United States if he felt that such action would further his political future or that it were necessary to save his career. On the other hand, he

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claims that his political tenets derive from George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln, and the latter has long been his personal hero. He is well versed on Lincoln and considers himself a Lincoln scholar. He has pictures of Lincoln in places of honor in his home and in his office, and he identifies himself with Lincoln as regards both his personal homeliness and his political trials and tribulations. Quadros reportedly has recurring dreams of his violent demise, and he has confided to at least one U.S. official that, like Lincoln, he expects to be assassinated some day.

Quadros' views on the nationalist tide currently sweeping Brazil are also matters for conjecture. As with other issues, he will not jeopardize his political future by going against public sentiment. He has, however, made such statements as "I am absolutely in favor of facilitating the entrance of foreign capital into Brazil," and "We must find a means of showing the country the stupidity of this false nationalism which has been holding Brazil back." These statements were made privately in October 1955, and there is no evidence that they were published in the Brazilian press.

Quadros was born on January 25, 1917 at Campo Grande, State of Matto Grosso, into a lower middle-class family of Portuguese ancestry. His father was a physician, and the family moved to São Paulo when Quadros was very young. Quadros received his law degree from the University of São Paulo in 1939. He then practiced law and taught Portuguese and geography at a leading secondary school in São Paulo until he was elected to municipal council in 1947. The 1,707 votes he received in that election were cast mostly by former students. Quadros began his political career as a member of the Christian Democratic Party (*Partido Democrata Cristão*—PDC), but was expelled from that party when it could not dissuade him from his successful try for the governorship in 1951. His record in the municipal council was excellent; he worked ceaselessly, travelled continuously about the city and promised always to represent the interests of the poorer classes. He was so successful that he was elected to the São Paulo State Legislature in 1951, and, in turn, was as successful as a state deputy that two years later he was elected mayor of São Paulo by a 100,000 vote plurality in the face of opposition from both state and federal governments, most of the press, and a coalition of eight political parties. He was supported only by the PDC and the relatively unimportant Brazilian Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Brasileiro*—PSB) and the small

National Labor Party (*Partido Trabalhista Nacional*—PTN). A year and a half later, this time backed only by the PSB and the PTN, using a broom as a campaign symbol and such slogans as "War on the Corrupt Rich," he defeated "unbeatable" Adhemar de Barros for the governorship by 18,304 votes. Quadros took office as Governor on January 31, 1955.

Quadros married Eloá do Valle in 1942 and has a teen-age daughter, Dirce Maria. His wife once described him as "a good companion, ugly, intelligent, a good father, nervous and careless." Quadros is a very homely, gaunt-faced man—walleyed as the result of a carnival accident some years ago—who is subject to fits of depression and who is said to fly into fits of rage when in private (and he has occasionally done so in public). During most of his political career he has sought to identify himself as closely as possible with the working man by appearing in public unshaven, unshorn, with frayed and rumpled shirt and scuffed shoes. He is said to drink fairly heavily of late (in private), and during late 1957 and early 1958 he was reported to be in rather poor health. In July 1957 he said he would not run for the Presidency if his health would not permit it. Quadros' private life was above reproach until a few years ago, but lately he has been publicly accused of at least one extramarital affair, and he is presently reported to be having another on and off affair with federal Deputy Ivette Vargas (PTB—São Paulo), who is a niece of the late President Getulio Vargas. Quadros' father had a penchant for chasing other men's wives, and he was shot and killed in 1957 by the irate husband of his then mistress. Quadros, who had broken with his father sometime previously, attended and behaved properly at his father's funeral, and the manner of the latter's demise did Quadros no public harm. In fact, no practical politician in Brazil would care to make an issue out of such an incident. Quadros is not known to have any business interests, nor any outside income other than that which he is alleged to have acquired through various manipulations as Governor. Quadros is a serious student of the Portuguese language and has written at least one Portuguese grammar book. He is not known to have traveled outside of Brazil before 1953, but since then he has visited the United States and Europe in 1955, 1956, and 1957. Quadros likes to read, and considers William Shakespeare the world's greatest author. He understands and speaks English very well, but is reluctant to use that language unless it is absolutely necessary or he is in an expansive mood. Quadros is a Roman Catholic.

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